4Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

is dressed and oiled during the morning at her own home by the old women of her family and settlement. When she is ready the bridegroom's mother and the *Pa-kwe* come for her, accompanied by a small boy or girl known as the *mimat* or "handmaid", who acts as page or bridesmaid. It does not matter whether the *mimat* is a boy or girl: the choice depends entirely upon who is available. The function of the *mimat* is chaperon; he or she merely walks with the bridal party, doing no specific duty. The bride is led to the bridegroom's place, where the guests are assembled drinking the beer and eating the food which has previously been prepared by the bridegroom's family. By now it is evening, and the bride on her arrival is called, together with the groom, by the *Pa-kwe* to the hut where the ceremony is to take place. In this hut, in the presence of some old men, the *Pa-kwe* says to the bride, *Kaipaasia ninto, matimat* ("you belong to this man, do not go from him"). The old men then leave, and when they are alone the *Pa-kwe* binds a bracelet of sebetet grass (*Spermadoxa*) on the bridegroom's right wrist, while an old woman of the girl's clan binds a similar bracelet on the girl's right wrist. This act and the words *kaipaasia*, etc. constitute the essential part of the ceremony, for they bind the woman to her husband. After this, an erection of grass called *kondo* is set up in the middle of the hut by the *Pa-kwe*. It consists of a bundle of sebetet grass tied together and set up in a hole in the floor, having been made in secrecy beforehand by the *Pa-kwe* and the old woman who assists him. The *Pa-kwe* makes a hole in the floor with a pointed stick and lines the hole with dung. The bundle of grass is then stood upright in it and the hole is plastered over with a small mound of dung, and dung is also smeared all over it so that the grasses stick together; the dung must be cow-dung. When it is ready, the husband says to his wife, *Kiyee kie*, "come and tread on it". She does so, whereupon the *Pa-kwe* sets it up again, and the action is then repeated three more times, after which it is left lying on the ground and remains there all night, while the newly married couple consummate the marriage inside it. The *kondo* seems to be a fertility symbol, erectile phallic, and is perhaps left on the floor during the first marriage act to ensure a fertile union. In the morning it is trodden well into the floor and dung is plastered over so that it cannot be seen. It is particularly important that children should not see it. Next day the pair are shaved, by the *Pa-kwe*, also by the old woman, and the hair is buried under an erection called *kwonisi*, which is made by the *Pa-kwe* of two or six sticks about 1 foot long cut from *sheerpuk* (olive), *sigheriet*, or *mamita* trees, and tied together at the bottom with *kwea* and set upright in a hole in the ground somewhere in the forest or in thick bush. The hair is placed against the *kwea* binding, and a small mound of cow-dung is made over it. The *kwonisi* is then left surrounded still in hole-down. No children or unmarried people may see it, and it is made with the utmost secrecy by the *Pa-kwe*, some hair for knowing where it has been set up, in order to prevent the hair from getting into the hands of a witch. The use of cow-dung is essential for both *kondo* and *kwonisi*, and if there are no cattle in the bridegroom's settlement, somebody must go beforehand and bring some in.

14.Huntingford E-4 /1930-1939/1941
FLE Dundas FLE
[P 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who enters into the *ilkit* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *anyun*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *ilkit* is forbidden; but with a classificatory sweetheart, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *kobo* (bride-price)? is said to have been formerly 4 cows for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *kobo* is high for people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Masai (See below, p. 191.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than in most among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *anakhi*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Elgeyo Escrpt and the Masai escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkoreon in the north to Nakuruan in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to south it from any side reveals a steep climb of

"On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," [illegible]

/341 cont./

V.

C00 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

[341] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asi-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[324] /342/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal that is hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a precession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise wasp, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asi, would harm the fetus.

[325] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to the occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned unborn bird or heard its ki-ki-ki calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/720 cont./

782 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for
796 UÄA, which they call kuuuŋ or kuuuŋ. For a kuuuŋ a kaya, a
812 feast to ask God for children, the married women station themselves
in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other
supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting
chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While
an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles those present
with honey beer, they sing: Uää aga kaya! After this has gone on for a
quarter of an hour, they start to dance, continuing to sing the same words.
824 The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are con-
878 sumed. At a kuuuŋ a aga they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire
782 they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the
796 twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show
812 God that they do not have any meat. All the companies station them-
224 selves around the fire and sing: Uää ugwi mugu (mugu = game). The
next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat,
a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again
all surround the newly kindled fire and each sings: Uää ayu kaiŋ aŋ
which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate
another supplication feast before a large hunting expedition. In the
middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand
824 in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the ebi
tree (Acacia nolitica) in the right one. Then, going around to the left,
they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Uää ugwi
mugu. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in
vain, but that after a kuuuŋ a aga they always returned from hunting
789 with rich booty. The Wandorobbo do not have a term corresponding to
796 the ai ngai i ai gaaŋ.* Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut
a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an ornament
812 around the right middle finger. As soon as they scent something along
the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy,
they bite on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for
protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The native use
only one, which they called tarara and which consisted of a small
piece of iron. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to pro-
tect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spoil the right

* [A supplication feast instituted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and [illegible]-kind.]